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Message Text

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44
ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 AEC-11 OIC-04 OMB-01 CU-04 ACDA-19 H-03 NSC-10

SS-20 DRC-01 /168 W
---------- 063587
R 230800Z NOV 73
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2681
INFO SECDEF
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

S E C R E T GENEVA 6218

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR
SUBJECT: CSCE: CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES -
OUTLOOK UNTIL CHRISTMAS BREAK
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REF: SECSTATE 227325

SUMMARY: NO NATO ALLY FAVORS DRAFTING BEFORE CHRISTMAS BREAK. THERE IS NO CONSENSUS IN SUB-COMMITTEE ON ANY MAJOR ISSUE. SOVIETS APPEAR TO RECOGNIZE THAT SIGNIFICANT MOVEMENT BEFORE CHRISTMAS NOT POSSIBLE. ALLIES FAVOR CONTINUING TO CHALLENGE SOVIETS ON ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS. WE PLANNING TO SUBMIT IN EARLY DECEMBER MORE COMPREHENSIVE MESSAGE ON ISSUES WHICH WILL LIKELY FACE US AFTER HOLIDAYS.
END SUMMARY

1. STATE OF PLAY. SOVIETS WOULD LIKE TO MOVE INTO PRE-DRAFTING PHASE BEFORE CHRISTMAS BREAK IN ORDER TO RETURN TO MOSCOW WITH SOME SYMBOL OF PROGRESS. THEY HAVE SUGGESTED THAT MILITARY SUB-COMMITTEE AGREE ON SELECTED PARTICIPANTS TO UNDERTAKE SYNOPSIS OF ALL PROPOSALS AND SUGGESTIONS TABLED OR DISCUSSED ON ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS AND EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS, POINTEDLY OMITTING MOVEMENTS OR OTHER ASPECTS OF MILITARY SECURITY WHICH MIGHT FALL UNDER PARAS 22 AND 24 OF FINAL HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS. NEUTRALS HAVE NOT YET EXPRESSED THEIR ATTITUDES BUT MAJOR NATO DELEGATIONS OPPOSED SOVIET IDEA BECAUSE IT LEAVES OUT MOVEMENTS. MOST NATO ALLIES WANT TO CONTINUE DEBATING SOVIETS ON MANEUVERS/MOVEMENTS IN HOPES OF OBTAINING CONCESSIONS.

2. NO ALLIED DELEGATION FAVORS COMMENCEMENT OF DRAFTING OR REACHING FINITE DECISIONS BEFORE CHRISTMAS BREAK. GAP BETWEEN EAST AND WEST POSITIONS IS TOO FORMIDABLE. NEVERTHELESS, ALLIES WILL BE LOOKING FOR MATERIAL WITH WHICH TO ATTACK LIMITED SOVIET POSITION DURING REMAINING FIFTEEN MEETINGS BEFORE BREAK AND ARE CONCERNED ABOUT POSSIBLE LACK OF SUFFICIENT MATERIAL TO OCCUPY DEBATE UP TO DEC 14. THEY ARE LIKELY TO TRY TO DEVELOP SUCH MATERIAL IN MEETING WITH NATO POLADS NOV 23. UK HAS HINTED AT POSSIBLE TACTICAL USE OF PORTIONS OF ILLUSTRATIVE LIST. SOVIETS WILL LIKELY EXPLOIT ABSENCE OF DISCUSSIONS TO PUSH FOR THEIR
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DESIRED "SYNOPSIS".

3. TACTICS. WE HAVE REMAINED RELATIVELY PASSIVE IN FORMAL SESSIONS, PREFERRING TO MAKE OUR VIEWS KNOWN IN CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS AND IN NATO CAUCUSES. OUR POSTURE HAS PERMITTED NATO ALLIES TO PUSH MANEUVERS/ MOVEMENTS TO POINT WHERE SOVIETS HAVE TAKEN FIRM STANCE AGAINST COMBINING TWO, WITHOUT THUS FAR DRAWING US

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INTO CONFRONTATIONS WITH SOVIETS OR EXPOSING ALLIED DIFFERENCES. HOWEVER, WE HAVE ALSO EMPHASIZED TO OUR NATO COLLEAGUES THAT OUR CONTINUED WILLINGNESS TO AVOID OPEN DISAGREEMENT COULD DEPEND ON TIMELY ALLIED ACCEPTANCE OF FACT THAT SOVIETS OPPOSE ANYTHING MORE THAN "STUDY" OF ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS. WE WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS ON THIS.

4. AT EARLIER STAGE, OUR PLANNING ENVISAGED TABLING ILLUSTRATIVE LIST OF MANEUVERS WHICH MIGHT PRECLUDE EXTENDED DISCUSSION OF SPECIFICITY BY ALLOWING DISCUSSION TO FLOW FROM PARAMETERS ESTABLISHED BY LIST. HOWEVER, EXTENDED DISCUSSION BEGAN BEFORE LIST WAS READY AND TABLING AT THIS JUNCTURE WILL NOT ALTER CURRENT FOCUS ON SPECIFICS. IN FACT, NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS WOULD QUESTION CRITERIA USED IN PREPARING LIST, THUS INVITING FURTHER DISCUSSION OF SPECIFICS. MOREOVER, IT WOULD PROVOKE QUESTIONS REGARDING MOVEMENTS, PROBABLY EXPOSING ALLIED DIFFERENCES. WE PREFER NOT TO USE OUR LIST BEFORE CHRISTMAS BREAK. WE WILL ADDRESS IN LATER MESSAGE HOW ILLUSTRATIVE LIST MIGHT BE USED IN CONNECTION WITH OTHER POSSIBLE TACTICS IN PURSUIT OF US OBJECTIVE OF VERY GENERAL CRITERIA FOR CBMS.

5. WE WOULD PREFER CONTINUE PRESENT APPROACH UNTIL CHRISTMAS, FENDING OFF ANY MOVES FOR DECISIONS OR DRAFTING PENDING OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT IN WASHINGTON. WE ARE AWARE, HOWEVER, THAT NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES TO MILITARY SUB-COMMITTEE WILL CONFER IN CAPITALS PRIOR TO NOV 23 MEETING WITH NATO POLADS AND MAY CARRY NEW INSTRUCTIONS TO BRUSSELS.

6. OVER CHRISTMAS BREAK, WE WILL NEED TO TURN TO
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IMPORTANT ISSUES WHICH WILL FACE US WHEN DRAFTING COMMENCES AFTER HOLIDAYS. WE WILL TREAT THESE ISSUES IN COMPREHENSIVE MESSAGE TO BE SUBMITTED TO WASHINGTON IN EARLY DECEMBER.BASSIN

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